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# I N D E X

TO

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OF THE

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|                                                                                                     | PAGE.        |                                                                         | PAGE.             |
|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|--------------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------------------|
| A.                                                                                                  |              | C.                                                                      |                   |
| Address to the colored people of the United States.....                                             | 20           | Colonization, to the friends of, in New York.....                       | 2                 |
| Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting—                                                          |              | Colonization, to the friends of, in Louisiana, Circular.....            | 3                 |
| By Hon. R. W. Thompson.....                                                                         | 52           | Colored population of Upper Canada according to census of 1847.....     | 10                |
| By Hon. R. J. Walker.....                                                                           | 54           | Colonization, African.....                                              | 269, 13, 253      |
| By Hon. J. R. Ingersoll.....                                                                        | 55           | Colonizationists, Northern.....                                         | 22                |
| By Hon. R. M. McLane.....                                                                           | 58           | Colonization is of God.....                                             | 97                |
| Appeal to the Legislature of Virginia in behalf of A. C. S.....                                     | 129          | Colonists and Natives.....                                              | 138               |
| Appropriations by Congress and the State Governments.....                                           | 65           | Colonist, first impressions of a Liberian                               | 115               |
| Arrival of the Packet and advices from the Colony—letters from John B. Russwurm, and W. Cassel..... | 111          | Collections, 4th of July.....                                           | 167               |
| Address by Rev. Mr. Robinson, before Ken. Col. Soc.....                                             | 139          | Circular to the colored people of Indiana                               | 177               |
| African Discovery.....                                                                              | 175          | Colonization.....                                                       | 315               |
| A College in Liberia.....                                                                           | 195          | — and the Cholera.....                                                  | 193               |
| Africa—a Miniature Poem.....                                                                        | 213          | — funds.....                                                            | 194               |
| Appeal to the Government and people of the United States.....                                       | 232          | —, fourth of July collections.....                                      | 194               |
| African Colonization.....                                                                           | 13, 253, 315 | —, worthy emigrants.....                                                | 195               |
| Annual Meeting (32d).....                                                                           | 46           | — in England.....                                                       | 201               |
| — Report (32d).....                                                                                 | 33           | — Cause.....                                                            | 290               |
| African Repository.....                                                                             | 61           | — Meeting.....                                                          | 295               |
| — Slave Trade.....                                                                                  | 26           | —, African.....                                                         | 315               |
| Address to the Clergy and Heads of Churches in Pennsylvania.....                                    | 277          | —, —, A Lecture..                                                       | 325, 353          |
| Annual Report of the Massachusetts Col. Soc. (8th).....                                             | 257          | Cover of July number—correction and an agent wanted for Georgia.....    | 3                 |
| Address of Rev. T. W. Hume.....                                                                     | 269          | College, a Liberian.....                                                | 195, 276          |
| Arrival of the Portsmouth.....                                                                      | 309          | Clay's, Hon. Henry, letter on emancipation.....                         | 104               |
| — of the Huma.....                                                                                  | 350          | Clintonia Wright, list of emigrants of.                                 | 218               |
| A just Tribute to Buchanan.....                                                                     | 378          | Constitution of the Massachusetts Col. Soc.....                         | 268               |
| African Coffee.....                                                                                 | 380          | Central Africa.....                                                     | 297               |
| B.                                                                                                  |              | D.                                                                      |                   |
| Board of Directors, proceedings of...                                                               | 48           | Donations received at the Colonization Office of the N. Y. S. C. S..... | 91, 188, 283, 381 |
| C.                                                                                                  |              | Discovery, African.....                                                 | 175               |
| Colonization, to the friends of.....                                                                | 1            | Davis's, Hon. John, letter.....                                         | 265               |

|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | PAGE. |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | PAGE.    |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|----------|
| E.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | L.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |          |
| Ethiopia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 178   | Letter from Gerard Ralston, Esq. to Elliott Cresson, Esq.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 8        |
| Emigrants for Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 185   | Letter from E. J. Royce on Africa....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 16       |
| England, Colonization in.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 201   | ——— Hon. Henry Clay on emancipation.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 104      |
| Everett, Hon. Edward.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 266   | Letter from Hon. President Roberts.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 114      |
| F.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | ——— Hon. J. N. Lewis.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 227      |
| French Mission in South Africa.....                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 171   | Latest from Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 60       |
| Fourth of July collections.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 167   | Late expedition for Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 61       |
| Funeral, night, of a slave.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 298   | Next expedition for Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 61       |
| G.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | Life Members of the A. C. S.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 83, 123  |
| Grand Cape Mount.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 118   | Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 117      |
| Government and people of the U. S., an appeal to.....                                                                                                                                                                                           | 232   | List of emigrants by the barque Laura.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 118      |
| Gold Coast, intelligence from the.....                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 180   | ——— by the Liberia Packet.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 121      |
| H.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | Liberia, Republic of, recognition by England and France.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 7        |
| Hotham, Sir Charles.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 268   | Liberian papers, extracts from—the Liberian fourth of July.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 182      |
| Hippopotamus, the Liberian.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 281   | Churches.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 184      |
| Humes, Rev. T. W.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 269   | Arrival.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 184      |
| Highly interesting intelligence from the African Gold Coast.....                                                                                                                                                                                | 180   | List of emigrants by the barque "Clintonia Wright".....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 218      |
| Hope for Africa, Dr. Parker's Sermon.....                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 202   | List of emigrants by the barque Huma.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 218      |
| Huma, list of emigrants of.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                 | 218   | Letter from R. E. Murray.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 228      |
| Harris's, S. D., letter.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 229   | ——— Dr. Smith.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                | 223      |
| Hazzard's, J. P., letter.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                   | 267   | ——— Geo. W. Lee.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 229      |
| History of Colonization on western coast of Africa.....                                                                                                                                                                                         | 324   | ——— S. D. Harris.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 229      |
| Huma, arrival of.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 350   | ——— Dr. Roberts.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 230      |
| I.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | ——— J. B. Philips.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 231      |
| Interesting Extracts—letter of Capt. Alexander Murray to Capt. Geo. Mansell, and letter of Sir Charles Hotham.....                                                                                                                              | 15    | Late from Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 279, 225 |
| Items of Intelligence—Colonization—Missionary for Africa—Extracts....                                                                                                                                                                           | 185   | Liberia Herald, extracts from, Dec. 1848, to May 1849—Republican Legislature—One of the first settlers—Harmettans—Royal funeral—Ladies Monrovia Literary Institution—Examination—Married—Died—Marine List—Acknowledgment of independence by England—The arrival of President Roberts from Europe—Notes—Rare Phenomenon—Expedition against New Cesters—Death of John Lewis—Bah-Gay—Obituary—The Felucca again..... | 235      |
| Ingersoll's, Hon. J. R., address.....                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 55    | Liberia, emigrants for.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 185      |
| Items of Intelligence—New Agent in Pennsylvania—Legacy—the High School in Liberia—African and Texas Slave Trade—A Slaver captured—letter of Rev. R. W. Bailey.....                                                                              | 282   | Lewis's, Gen. J. N., letter.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 227      |
| Independence of Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                    | 300   | Lee's, G. W., letter.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 229      |
| Indiana, sentiments in.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 310   | Letter from the Hon. John Davis....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               | 265      |
| Items of Intelligence—Presbyterian Herald—Colored Missionaries—Novelty at College—Liberia—Calabar Country—Slave Trade in Brazil and Cuba—The Brazil Slave Trade—Later from Bahia—A Slaver captured—African Repository—Remarks—Colonization..... | 316   | ——— the Hon. E. Everett.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 266      |
| J.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | ——— J. P. Hazard, Esq.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 267      |
| Java, the growth of Coffee and Pepper.....                                                                                                                                                                                                      | 308   | ——— Rev. Joseph Tracy.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 267      |
| L.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       | ——— Sir Charles Hotham.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                       | 268      |
| Late and interesting from Liberia....                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 377   | Liberia, independence of.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     | 300      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | Letters from Rev. Mr. Payne.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | 302      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | ——— Rev. Mr. Rambo.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           | 304      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | ——— Rev. Mr. Hoffman.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         | 307      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | List of emigrants.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                            | 316      |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | Lecture on African Colonization.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              | 325, 353 |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | M.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                |          |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | Maryland in Liberia.....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                          | 17       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | Meeting, Annual (32d).....                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                        | 46       |
|                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                 |       | Memorial to the Legislature of Ohio..                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             | 69       |

| M.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | PAGE. | R.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  | PAGE. |
|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-------|
| Money collected in the northern part of<br>the State of New York..... 124<br>Missionary influence of Sierra Leone. 133<br>Massachusetts Colonization Society... 199<br>McLane's, Hon. R. M., address.... 58<br>Mission, French, in the South of Africa 171<br>Members, Life, of the A. C. S.... 83, 123<br>Murray's, R. E., letter..... 228<br>Memorial in behalf of American Colo-<br>nization Society..... 323                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                    |       | Receipts and expenditures of the A.<br>C. S. from 1 Jan. 1848, to 1 Jan.<br>1849..... 51<br>Repository, African..... 61<br>Readers, to New York..... 122<br>Robinson's, Rev. Mr., address..... 139<br>Ralston's, Gerard, letter to Elliott Cres-<br>son, Esq..... 8<br>Roye's, E. J. letter on Africa..... 16<br>Roberts, President, letters..... 114, 220<br>Roberts, Dr., letter..... 230<br>Resolution of the Synod of North<br>Carolina..... 27<br>Resolutions adopted by the General As-<br>sociation of Massachusetts, June 23,<br>1847..... 268<br>Rambo's, J., letter..... 281                                                                                                                                                                                                                                              |       |
| N.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       | S.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       |
| North Carolina Synod, Resolution... 27<br>Native Converts in Liberia..... 169<br>Night funeral of a slave..... 298                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       | Slave Trade, African..... 26<br>Statement for 1849..... 50<br>Slavery Question..... 155<br>Seventeenth Annual Report of the N.<br>Y. S. C. S..... 161<br>Summary of late news..... 234<br>Smith's, Dr., letter..... 228<br>Sermon by Rev. J. Parker..... 202<br>Saw Mill in Liberia..... 289<br>Sentiments in Indiana..... 310                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                      |       |
| O.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       | T.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       |
| Operations in Ohio..... 379                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                         |       | The Learned Slave..... 28<br>Tennessee, Colonization in..... 28<br>Thirty-second Annual Report of the<br>A. C. S..... 33<br>To Subscribers..... 123<br>To our Readers..... 158, 187<br>The coming change in Anti-Slave<br>Trade movements..... 173<br>The Fourth of July..... 187<br>The latest, but not very late from Li-<br>beria—Letter from D. L. Carlton—<br>Colonization Cause..... 197<br>Twenty-third Anniversary of the<br>Greene Co. Col. Soc..... 252<br>Thompson's, Hon. R. W., address.. 52<br>The Liberian Hippopotamus..... 281<br>Tracy's, Rev. J., letter..... 267<br>The Colonization Cause..... 290<br>Things in Liberia..... 292<br>Three thousand dollars wanted in<br>thirty days..... 321<br>That new race of men..... 322<br>That three thousand dollars—and the<br>sailing of the Liberia Packet..... 381 |       |
| P.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       | W.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       |
| Pinney's, Rev. J. B., Circular..... 27<br>Proceedings of the Board of Directors. 48<br>Parker's, Rev. Joel, Sermon, on hope<br>for Africa..... 202<br>Philip's, J. B., letter..... 231<br>Portsmouth, arrival of..... 309                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                           |       | Walker's, Hon. R. J., address..... 54                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                               |       |
| R.                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                  |       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |       |
| Roberts, President, his return..... 10<br>———, ———, letters..... 114, 224<br>Report, Annual, (32d) of A. C. S.... 33<br>Receipts of N. Y. Col Soc. from Sept.<br>1, to Dec. 1, 1848..... 28<br>Receipts of the A. C. S. from 20 Nov.<br>to 20 Dec. 1848..... 29<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Dec. to<br>20 Jan. 1849..... 61<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Jan. to<br>20 Feb. 1849..... 93<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Feb. to<br>20 Mar. 1849..... 125<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Mar. to<br>20 Apr. 1849..... 158<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Apr. to<br>20 May, 1849..... 190<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 May to<br>20 June, 1849..... 222<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 June to<br>20 July, 1849..... 255<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 July to<br>20 Aug. 1849..... 286<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Aug. to<br>20 Sept. 1849..... 319<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Sept. to<br>20 Oct. 1849..... 351<br>Receipts of A. C. S. from 20 Oct. to<br>20 Nov. 1849..... 383<br>Receipts of Penn. Col. Soc. from 15<br>Oct. to 15 Nov. 1849..... 383 |       |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                     |       |







# THE AFRICAN REPOSITORY,

## AND

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[No. 5.]

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### An Appeal to the Legislature of Virginia, in behalf of the American Colonization Society.

WE approach the Representatives of the People. They are the depositaries of that power which is to be used for the public weal. In elective governments, representatives may fear the source from whence their power is derived. But on this subject, all legislation which falls within the limits of reason, will coincide with the views of the people. There are not in the commonwealth of Virginia, one hundred persons who dissent from the opinion that our free people of color ought to be transferred to Africa. Restore them, is the universal demand. The proofs of this feeling in the mass of the people, are clear as light. From the Capes to the Ridge, and from the Ridge to the western and north-western boundary of Virginia, the people have contributed money and influence to the cause of colonization. In addition to the mass of the people, we can supply select and illustrious men, whose names have long worn that sanctity

which age, experience, and wisdom, confer. The sages of Monticello, Montpelier, and Oak Hill, gave to the colonization scheme, their living and dying approbation. To the names of Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, might hundreds be subjoined and none more promptly than that of John Marshall. Legislators! we enter your Hall beneath a galaxy composed of moral and intellectual luminaries, in whose light we and our children are permitted to rejoice.

In respectfully asking pecuniary aid from the Legislature of Virginia, we decline argument. The days of argument are past, whilst those of appeal have arrived. Colonization *has been* an open question; but it has stood the torture of the strictest scrutiny. For eight and twenty years, has this subject of colonizing our free people of color, been discussed in the United States, through the press—in popular assemblies, in the Halls of Legislation, and even in the pulpit,

Volumes would not hold the reasonings which have been employed in connection with the subject on which we so urgently address your Honorable Body. Our scheme has been prosecuted with all the lights which could be made to converge for its elucidation. Our thirty States are combined to some extent, at least, in this noble enterprise. The advocates of colonization have, at all times, been willing to hear and weigh difficulties and objections. They knew that the genius of Africa would one day sublimely close the circle of reasoning, and this conviction inspired them with a perfect willingness that sceptics might enter it and be heard, and that fanatics might rend it if they pleased. But how stands the result? The circle is complete, and it holds within its golden circumference, hundreds of thousands who are the friends of Africa.

We address men of intelligence, and men who have been elevated to seats of legislation by the popular will and by the votes of those who are free and independent. It would be an insult to the understanding of such, to argue whether the whole of any thing be greater than its part, and would not the offence be equal in magnitude if we attempted to show that colonization in Africa could be accomplished after it has been accomplished? But we ask the legislature of Virginia simply to hear a recital of what private benevolence has

achieved, independently of any direct help from Government, and to infer what may be done, provided private benevolence were aided by legislative enactment. The recital shall be short, for the facts to be mentioned have been circulated over the United States as freely as that air which nourishes the life of a population now amounting to twenty millions.

It is well known that the philanthropic institution whose claims we respectfully but zealously press, was founded at Washington City, in the year 1816. We need not state the names of its founders, for some of them fill no obscure place in the annals of American legislation. The assemblage who laid the corner stone of the American Colonization Society, was composed of men who loved their country, both north and south, east and west. Since that time, the interest has been gradually deepening in this scheme, from the St. Croix, to the mouths of the Mississippi, and from the Lake of Huron, to the Floridian everglades. Private benevolence has purchased on a benighted coast, a territory of more than three hundred miles in extent, it has chartered ships, it has bought and started packets, it has despatched to the home and continent of their fathers, five thousand of our free people of color—it has brought under the canopy of Liberian laws, about eighty thousand hitherto wild and untutored savages, it has restored many victims of

the slave trade who reached our shores in defiance of the law of our Congress, it has abolished the slave trade within the jurisdiction of the colony, it has founded schools, churches and printing presses, it has cleared farms and sprinkled abroad the tints of agriculture, it has rendered streams navigable which were inaccessible to the boatman, it has planted the temples of justice, it has translated our bland and beautiful arts to a distant continent, it has sent over our melodious language, to be the language of millions for ages to come, and above all, it has obtained a foothold for the Christian religion, before whose progress, paganism and Mohammedanism, will gradually disappear. Liberia is a republic reared by private munificence, and the lone star is tremulous with hope for the arrival of new but kindred orbs, that she may present herself to the world in the form of a constellation, whose dumbness will be eloquence. We boast not of what has been done, because one frown from Heaven might have disappointed our fondest hopes; but Heaven has been propitious. We then call on the Legislature of Virginia to strengthen our hands, and encourage our hearts, for the work of a century remains to be executed. We believe, indeed, that Liberia left to itself would live—that her agriculture would flourish, and that her commerce would increase; but Liberia cannot transport our free colored

population. She wants more of our people, that she may send our arts, through their agency, among surrounding tribes, and eventually into the heart of Africa. And many of the African race wish to leave the United States. They are even importunate to go, and shall we forbid them to cherish the hope that they may one day plant their feet on the soil whence their fathers came? The Legislature must be aware that Liberia was founded in the face of doubts and opposition, and even of ridicule. But doubts have been resolved—opposition has lowered its tone, ridicule has been changed into the smile of approbation, the clamor of faction has been silenced, and discontent has been quelled. The records of the world may be safely challenged to produce an experiment more triumphantly proved. Thousands in the north have begun to feel a lively interest in Liberia as a home for the children of Africa, and as a frontispiece to those temples of religion and seats of law and maces of legislation which are yet to be more extensively established on the western coast of a continent which up to this period, has been a blank on the map of the world. The independence of the Liberian republic has been acknowledged by the Court of St. James, and by that Government in France which has dissolved the Cabinet of St. Cloud. By these and a hundred other considerations which might be numerically stated,

do we ask the Legislature of Virginia to aid the American Colonization Society. We pretend not to dictate or even to suggest the form of the benefaction. That is left with your Body, in whose wisdom our confidence is entire. The Legislature of Maryland have long since occupied Cape Palmas, where a flourishing colony bears witness to their generosity and foresight. Other States by the purchase of African territory, are eager to impress their names on Liberian soil. And shall Virginia, who has been the parent of States, decline all interest in the soil of Africa? She can exultingly say of several members of our confederacy, these are my jewels nobly given away, that nations might be enriched. Virginia has been slow, but when she shall begin to move, our confidence is unshaken, that she will overtake and outstrip all others in the race of philanthropy.

The people of Virginia never can forget that they are the children of colonization. Our fathers received aid from the Crown of England. 'They came to plant a factory, and lo! they planted thirty empires.' A beneficent Providence watched over the infant settlement established on the James. He reared up in the person of an Indian Princess, a guardian to the colony, whose olive hand arrested the tomahawk of the savage, and who threaded each sylvan labyrinth where extermination to the colony was appre-

hended. The commonwealth of Virginia has sprung from crude materials, and the contrast between her infancy and present state is striking. A million and more of her children are daily drinking happiness at those fountains of law, literature, legislation and religion which she liberally supplies. Her capes, her tinted mountains and unrivalled scenery, have charmed past generations, and are destined to charm generations to come by adding the peculiar pleasure they give to other sweets of existence. But in thirty years, our State had not advanced so far in population as Liberia, and what Liberia may become in the future, we leave to the pen of history and to the imagination of the poet.

With these and a multitude of cognate considerations which will readily occur to reflecting men, we leave our appeal with the legislature. All sources of information if called for, can be immediately supplied. We are fortified by a multitude of documents, and are able to prove diligence on our part in prosecuting the enterprise, and frugality in the use of all pecuniary means hitherto placed at our disposal. We then earnestly, affectionately and importunately invoke the Legislature of Virginia to look generously on our cause. We press our claim from the harmonious sentiments of the people, from the concurrence of all patriotic men, from the genius of our institutions, from the

known opinions of illustrious shades that once animated our counsels, from the azure wreaths which dress our mountains, from the horrors of the slave trade, and the tortures of the middle passage, from the soil of Liberia which invites additional cultivators, from the rising commerce of our colony, from the tropical rivers of

Africa, whose mouths will be filled with the music of gratitude, from the good of millions on a foreign coast, and the good of millions who are to occupy those seats which we now occupy, and inhabit homes which we are so soon to relinquish to our posterity.

#### *Missionary Influence of Sierra Leone.*

THIS colony was commenced in 1787, with colonists most of whom had been slaves in our southern States, and had served in the British army during the war of the revolution. In 1791 and 1792, it was reinforced by 1,200 colonists from Jamaica, who had first been removed to Nova Scotia, but found the climate too cold for them. Its prosperity was retarded by wars with the natives, wars among themselves, and the wars of England with France, during which it was ravaged by a French fleet. Its principal accessions have been, not civilized emigrants, but the cargoes of slave ships, captured by British cruisers. They needed to be civilized and converted themselves, before they could exert any good influence on others. They have been brought in and landed there, till their number has risen to some 50,000, or 55,000.

The first missionary attempt in that region, except two feeble efforts which had previously ended in nothing, was made by the English Church Missionary Society in 1804; but the

missionaries were instructed to find stations beyond the limits of the colony. In 1806, however, one of them was induced to serve, temporarily, as chaplain for the colony; an office which the Sierra Leone company had been laboring in vain to fill for nine years. This, so far as appears, was the beginning of clerical labors in the colony. In 1808, the missionaries first found stations where they could labor beyond the limits of the colony. But in 1816, it was found that the colony, then numbering 9,000, or 10,000 inhabitants, was the most promising field of labor. In 1818, the last of their stations beyond its limits were given up, and the whole missionary force concentrated within the colony; "thus making Sierra Leone the base, from whence future exertions may be extended, step by step, to the very interior of Africa."

The Society now reports, missionary stations 16; missionary laborers, of various kinds, 146, of whom 128 are natives; average attendance on public worship 7,628; communicants

2,099; seminaries 2; schools 63; pupils 4,979.

The English Wesleyans commenced a mission at Sierra Leone in 1817. They now report, schools, 45; pupils, 4,180; communicants, 4,883.

Both together report 108 schools, 9,169 pupils, and 6,982 communicants. But these numbers by no means give an adequate idea of what has been done. We must consider *where they are*.

In 1821, the Wesleyans extended their operations by commencing a station at Bathurst, a British settlement at the mouth of the Gambia, about 400 miles north from Sierra Leone. In 1832, they advanced 300 miles up that river, and commenced a station on Macarthy's Island, in a settlement of emigrants from Sierra Leone. Three of their schools, 354 of their pupils, and 292 of their communicants are at these stations.

In 1835, they extended their operations about 900 miles in the opposite direction, to Cape Coast Castle. Here were about 10,000 Africans, living under British rule. There had been a chaplaincy and a school in the fort nearly all the time since 1751. Some of the more enlightened among them had been at Sierra Leone, had become acquainted with missionaries there, and had requested the Church Missionary Society to send them one; but none had been sent. Their wishes having come to

the knowledge of the Wesleyans, a mission was commenced there. In connection with this mission are 27 of their schools, 1,108 of their pupils, and 959 of their communicants. But these are not all at Cape Coast town. One of their stations is at Kumasi, the capital of the Ashantic Kingdom, about 100 miles inland. Others are scattered along the coast for 300 miles or more. One is at Annamaboe; one at Accra, and another at Badagry, and still another at Abbekuta, 60 or 70 miles inland from Badagry.

The church missions, too, have been extended to Badagry and Abbekuta. At Badagry, they report 16 communicants, 2 schools, and 76 pupils; and at Abbekuta, 36 communicants, 2 schools, and 42 pupils. But as the history of this extension is very interesting and instructive, we must give it more particularly.

The great kingdom of Yoruba formerly extended from the ocean, at Badagry, to the Niger near Rabbah. From Badagry across the country to Rabbah may be some 300 miles; but the Niger flows from Rabbah, first toward the east and then toward the south, at least 600 miles, to its numerous mouths in the Bight of Benin. About the year 1817, a series of wars broke out among the tribes owing allegiance to the king of Yoruba, in which the country has been ravaged, a large part of its towns destroyed, and multitudes of the people seized and sold to slave traders. Some esti-

mate of the number seized and sold, may be formed from the fact, that such of them as were rescued from slave ships by British cruisers, form "a very large proportion of the population of Sierra Leone." One of them, who arrived in 1822, when there were but few of his countrymen there, was baptized by the name of Samuel Crowther, has been educated and ordained, and is now at the head of the mission at Abbekuta. His mother, whom he found soon after his return, was one of five adults baptized February 6, 1848. Four children, his nieces, he found in slavery, redeemed them and baptized them. But we are before our story.

Previous to 1845, several natives of Yoruba had left Sierra Leone and gone to Badagry, and some of them had penetrated the interior. They found old friends and relatives, who were delighted to see them again and listened with interest to their account of the religion which they had learned at Sierra Leone. The report of their reception and of the encouraging attentiveness of the people to what they said of christianity, led to the establishment of the mission. We have already mentioned the Rev. Samuel Crowther as its head at Abbekuta. His three assistants are all natives of Yoruba, who, like himself, are rescued victims of the slave trade, educated at Sierra Leone. One of them, Mr. Phillip, schoolmaster, arrived at Ab-

bekuta December 4, 1847; and a letter dated December 15, gives an account of his unexpected meeting with his mother and several sisters, from whom he had been torn twenty-one years before. We have already given the statistics of the mission, and stated that the Wesleyans also have stations at Badagry and Abbekuta.

The wars which we have mentioned, have resulted in the almost entire political dissolution of the kingdom of Yoruba. The several tribes which composed it now act independently of each other; but the same language still prevails from Badagry to the Niger, and thus a missionary influence can be exerted from the points already occupied through that whole region; and there are laborers in abundance at Sierra Leone, to carry the knowledge of the gospel to all its towns.

But this is not all. There is more to come, and the way is nearly prepared for it. We have said that Yoruba extends to the Niger. There it borders upon Haussa; or if Nufi intervenes, the distance is not great, and presents no formidable obstacle. A mission to Haussa is already planned, and the Rev. J. F. Schoen has been for some time studying the language at Sierra Leone, intending soon to proceed to that country. He can doubtless find at Sierra Leone, pious and educated natives of Haussa, who will not only teach him the language, but accompany him on his mission, and on his arrival, secure him a fa-

avorable reception among their friends. This movement carries christianity across the Niger, 500 miles or more above its mouth.

Haussa borders on Bournu, the most important empire of Central Africa. Indeed it is said that Haussa itself is tributary to Bournu, and that the languages of both countries are so amalgamated on their borders that the people understand each other. There are natives of Bournu at Sierra Leone, and by their assistance, the Rev. S. W. Roelle is acquiring the language, proposing, when Mr. Schoen is established in Haussa, to go on beyond him into Bournu. He gives a literal translation of one of his teacher's narratives, in the following words:—

“My years were eighteen. There was war. At that time my mother died—my father died. I buried them. I had done. The Fullahs caught me. They sold me. The Haussa people bought us. They brought us to Yoruba. We got up. We came to the Popo country. The Popoes took us. To a white man they sold us. The white man took us. We had no shirts. We had no trowsers. We were naked. Into the midst of the water, into the midst of a ship, they put us. Thirst killed somebody. Hunger killed somebody. By night we prayed. At suntime we prayed.—God heard our prayers. The English are pious. God sent them. They came. They took us. Our hun-

ger died. Our thirst died. Our chains went off from our feet. Shirts they gave us. Trowsers they gave us. Hats they gave us. Every one was glad. We all praised the English. Whoever displeases the English, into hell let him go.”

The unchristian wish in the last sentence was probably intended only as a strong expression of gratitude. The facts are important. This Bournu man was not enslaved and sold by his own countrymen, but by the Fulahs, with whom Bournu is often at war. From this we may infer that if he should return, his countrymen, instead of selling him again, would receive and protect him. The case is doubtless the same with others from Bournu. It also appears, that the road to Bournu is through Yoruba and Haussa, the very route contemplated by these projected missions. Guides and interpreters for the whole route, having countrymen and friends at the end of it, may be found among the recaptured Africans at Sierra Leone.

Let us survey the extent of their missionary influence.

From Sierra Leone to the Gambia, is about 400 miles, and from thence up the river to Macarthy's Island, is 300 miles more. So far the Wesleyan missions have extended themselves northward. From Sierra Leone to Cape Palmas is about 450 miles south-eastwardly, and thence to Bad-agry, about 750 miles east, ma-

king the whole distance about 1,200 miles in that direction. From Badagry to Abbekuta is 64 miles inland. From Bathurst, at the mouth of the Gambia, along the coast to Badagry, is about 1,900 miles, and from MacCarthy's Island down the Gambia to its mouth, then along the coast to Badagry, and then inland to Abbekuta, is about 2,300 miles. So far missions have actually been extended, and are now in successful operation. The greatest gap in this line of missions is occupied by Liberia.

From Badagry, through Yoruba and Haussa to the heart of Bournu, on the great lake Chad, must be nearly 1,000 miles. We have already told what means are prepared for this additional extension. The tributaries of Bournu probably extend to the Great Desert on the north, and to the head waters of the western branch of the Nile on the south east.

It is worthy of special notice, that this route strikes the Niger far above the pestilential delta at its mouth, and thus opens a practicable route to its rich and populous valley of more than a thousand miles above, as well as the valleys of its magnificent tributaries.

Such are the results, present and prospective, of a colony, far inferior to Liberia in every thing but age and numbers; and, if we may count the natives lately brought under the jurisdiction of Liberia, far inferior, now, in numbers.

Yet, in one respect, Sierra Leone has had a decided advantage over Liberia. American missions to Liberia have labored almost exclusively for the conversion of the *natives*, neglecting the colonists. British missionaries acted on the same principle till the experience of twelve years showed them their error; and then in 1816, they changed their policy. Thenceforth, they made it their first object to convert the colonists; to produce a concentration of gospel light at Sierra Leone, the rays of which must of necessity penetrate the surrounding darkness. Some of the American missions in that part of the world have at length made the same discovery, and will henceforth act on the same principle, with vastly greater advantages than the British missions have enjoyed.

We must not close this article, without noticing the prospect of an American mission to Central Africa. The "Southern Baptist Convention" have, as we understand, resolved to send a mission to Yoruba, with a view to its ultimate extension inland. Two missionaries have already offered themselves for this enterprise, one of whom is from Florida, and "has long contemplated the subject;" and other offers are expected. A committee having had the subject under serious consideration "for many months," say in their Report, speaking of Yoruba:

"In this salubrious and productive kingdom, our missionaries might se-

lect a location, whence they might easily cross the Niger into Nyffe, "a very fine country, occupied by the most industrious and improved of all the negro nations," and thence extend their chains of stations eastward to the kingdom of Bournu and even to Abyssinia.

"Located near the Niger, the commercial highway of that entire region, the missionary may, at any time, by means of the boats that ply on its waters visit the numerous towns that stud its banks. Departing from Katunga, the capital of Yariba, a town fifteen miles in circumference, with a large population, he may descend the river, visiting Rabba, Egga, which stretches for four miles along its western bank; Kacunda, with its "peaceable, friendly and industrious people;" and proceeding on to the

point of its confluence with the Te-hadda, ascend the latter and preach Christ crucified to the immense multitudes of the Funda country. Or he may ascend the Niger, stopping at the countless intermediate towns and villages, up to Boosa, "the capital of a fertile and well cultivated country;" thence to Yaoori, encompassed by wooden walls thirty miles in length, and finally reach Timbuctoo itself, the mart of an extensive trade, and distribute among its mixed population the word of life. Or he may diverge from the Niger, and ascend the river that leads to Soccatoo, "the largest city in the interior of Africa," and spread within its lofty walls those sacred influences, which will ultimately open its twelve gates to let the King of Glory in."

### The Colonists and the Natives.

EXTRACT of a letter from the Rev. J. Payne, Protestant Episcopal Missionary at Cape Palmas, to one of the bishops of that church:

"The natives of the west coast of Africa, are not only deeply sunk in vice and superstition, but they have no written language, and, of course, no books—no schools. To raise them from such degradation must be the work of generations. I would not limit the power of God, which I pray daily may be manifested in the conversion of the adult population, while I pray, preach and labor for this end. But, guided by the light of the past, all intelligent minds must agree that the moral renovation of such a people involves a long, systematic, and toilsome work. The language must be reduced to writing, schools established, the Word of God and other religious books translated and distributed, ere the blessings of Christianity can be permanently se-

cured to these people. It is obvious that, in order to the accomplishment of these objects, an adequate supply of well-qualified ministers and teachers must be provided. And the important question arises, whence are these to be obtained?

"Will the church in the United States furnish them? I think that facts show that she will not. During the twelve years of this mission's existence, *twenty* white laborers, male and female, have been connected with it. Of these, there remain in the field, at the present moment, myself, the only clergymen, with my wife and Dr. Perkins, making *three in all!* Some have died, and others have withdrawn on account of ill health, or different reasons. But as these causes are likely to be permanent, it is proper to judge of the future by the past, which fully sustains the opinion just expressed, that the wants of the mission are not to be supplied from the church at home.

"There appears to me to be quite as little prospect of an *immediate* supply of suitable *native* agents. The view has been expressed, that in China such an agency may reasonably be hoped for, from the present generation. But this based upon the idea, that the Chinese are the Romans of existing Heathendom. However this may be, it is very certain that the *people of India* are very much superior to those of Africa. And yet, after generations of missionary toil, what is the result, so far as an adequate supply of superintendents and clergymen is concerned? In one of his communications, written, I think, in 1846, Bishop Wilson of Calcutta declared his conviction, that from *future generations* alone, was there any reasonable hope of obtaining a competent native agency for that field. 'A fortiori,' there is *less* prospect here.

"There remains but one other source to which we can look for suitable instruments to sustain this mission. And this, in the Providence of God, is immediately at hand. It is the American Colony, within whose bounds our operations are confined. To some it may appear unaccountable that the same advantage should not raise to a like standard the heathen and the Christian child. But not so to those who have carefully observed the gradual steps by which barbarous nations advance to Christian civiliza-

tion. The process resembles that by which infancy attains to the maturity of manhood. It has its childhood and its youth, with all attending imperfections; and it is only *men* who are qualified to be guides and instructors, so it is found that heathen nations, even after they have been converted must pass through their childhood and youth, before they furnish characters of sufficient maturity to be entrusted with their spiritual care. Now the Americo-African Colonists having been long living under the influences of Christian civilization, have passed through the stages of childhood and youth. They are struggling rapidly into *manhood*. With all the disadvantages to which their social condition subjected them in the U. S., they are, to say the least, a century in advance of their heathen neighbors. Moreover, by constitution they are adapted to the climate, and what is of still greater consequence, here is their and their children's *home*. The latter will grow up here, and by constant intercourse with the natives, become perfectly familiar with their languages and customs. Now it is from amongst these children that I would have the church train up her teachers and ministers for Africa. Colonists already fill every civil office in Liberia, the higher ones, most ably; why should they not also, in time, fill all in the church?"

[From the Presbyterian Herald.]

#### Rev. Mr. Robinson's Address.

To those who are acquainted with the reputation of Mr. Robinson as a pulpit orator, the length of his address upon our first page, will be no obstacle to its careful and attentive perusal. To those who are not, we would say, if you commence it you will not stop until you are done, whatever may be your views as to the cor-

rectness of his positions. Though himself a native of "the Old Dominion" and comparatively a stranger in our State, having resided in it only two or three years, yet he has evidently caught a very correct view and given a very proper analysis of the state of public opinion upon the subject of his address. A very gratify-

ing sign of the times is found in the unanimity with which all parties in the State are found advocating the scheme of African Colonization. One party advocate it because they believe that, by a union of it with a system of gradual emancipation, the State may be relieved of the incubus of slavery, another party, in favor of perpetual slavery, advocate it because they believe the presence of a large body of free negroes will be prejudicial to the Government of their slaves as well as to the whites. Both parties, however they may divide upon other points, may agree, in perfect consistency with their principles, in removing the negroes that are now free and such as shall become such hereafter, to their fatherland. With slavery, as such, the colonization scheme has nothing to do. Its office is to take the negro after he has had nominal freedom conferred upon him, and transfer him to a country where he may be free indeed. When and how he shall be released from slavery, or whether he shall be free at all, it leaves to be determined by the master or the State in which he is held. It blesses him when freed by taking him away from the depressing influences resulting from the constant presence of a superior race, and placing him in a new position where there are stimulants to call into play all the latent powers of his nature. It blesses the white man by taking away a degraded class of inferiors who by their degradation draw down in the scale of moral worth all within the circle of their influence. It blesses Africa by drying up the accursed trade by which her sons are torn from her bosom, and planting on her coast a colony of her own children redeemed by the Gospel from heathenism and imbued with the spirit of the Institutions of Christianity. In this view of it, it is beginning to meet with favor from English statesmen of

great prominence who have until lately been its warmest opponents. Lieut. W. S. Jackson, who has just returned from the African coast, gives through the London Times his decided testimony to the futility of attempts to prevent this traffic by a naval force. He says that this method ought to be abandoned and colonization substituted. He says:

"I would rather hold up Liberia as an example to our Government than offer my own remarks; the Americans established a colony, and from that spread North and South from Cape Mount to Cape Palmas, between which places slavery is now hardly known. When we look upon this handful of people, unprotected by their own Government, alone and unaided, and consider what they have done, I think we may well blush at the futility of our own efforts."

The London Morning Post suggests a system of measures for civilizing Africa by establishing intimate connection between the West Indies and Africa, through a comprehensive system of transports between the two places, and by enlisting native Africans in the army, and training them in connection with the black soldiers of the West Indies, and by employing them partly in military and partly in agricultural labor. In this way it is proposed to make the West Indies a training school for Africans and then to have them return to Africa in possession of the habits of civilized life, and in this way to exclude the slave traffic.

Upon this scheme then all parties may unite and shake hands. The North and the South, the East and the West, may here stand upon one common platform, and urge forward this glorious scheme, and bless themselves, and bless the negro, and bless Africa.

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*Substance of the speech of REV. STUART ROBINSON, before the Colonization Society of Kentucky, at its meeting, January 18th, 1849.*

MR. PRESIDENT:—I presume, that in expressing some embarrassment at rising to perform the duty to which you have called me on this occasion, I shall not be suspected of affectation, by any one who is acquainted with the character of the speeches which this Society has been accustomed to hear at its annual meetings; or who has any adequate conception of the greatness of the cause which it is now my duty to defend and to enforce. I have been preceded in this duty by men, of all others, most competent to fill the place. Men, who instead of borrowing reputation from the positions which they have occupied, have had reputation to lend to any cause: \* who have done their share of the thinking in this age: who, as Statesmen, Jurists and Divines, have adorned the highest places of the country—whose names will be land-marks of future history, and add lustre to the immortality of Kentucky.

Aside from this reflection, the subject which we are to consider, is one which above all other schemes of modern philanthropy, has filled my imagination with the grandeur of its conceptions, and overpowered my faculties with the magnitude of its probable results. It is an enterprise worthy to have been conceived of, and set on foot, "when there were giants in those days." It bears marks of its paternity in every feature. Every point of it is on a grand scale. One cannot here, as in many other cases, when feeling his incompetency to the whole subject, select some one branch of it, as more suitable to his strength; for here every part of the subject is immense in its scope. Like the bones

of the Mastodon, or of those wonderful organic remains which have made our Commonwealth so famous—"the *dissecta membra*" of the huge fabric—a limb—a horn—a single tusk, is an overmatch for ordinary strength.

A scheme of benevolence which should have been devised by the great hearts that yearned over an infant nation, and the great minds whose ordinary topics of thought were the profoundest truths in the problem of human society, would be presumed *a priori* to have in it the elements of grandeur. This project of African Colonization, a project which turns to account of benevolence, one of the direst calamities ever inflicted by an angry Providence upon men, and makes it a channel of blessing to the millions of two continents—is one that fully meets all our anticipations, as to the character of the work even of such men.

If, however, sir, there is any advantage in a deep impression of the grandeur and importance of one's subject—if there is any benefit in a full persuasion of the righteousness of the principles and the sound common sense of the practice of one's cause—and if any advantage in an unwavering confidence in its ability to accomplish all, and more than all which it proposes for the benefit of society, then I am not altogether devoid of qualifications for the task now appointed me.

I have proposed to myself simply some general remarks, going to illustrate these two propositions:

1. That the plan of African Colonization—involving the separation of the black from the white race, as the only means of promoting the highest good of both—is the true exponent of the national feeling of our country in reference to the African race.

\* Among the speakers who have at different times addressed this Society, are Hon. H. Clay, Hon. J. R. Underwood, Rev. R. J. Breckinridge, D. D., Judge W. F. Bullock, John A. McClung, Esq., &c.

2. That the Colonization Society, while in good faith it abstains from any interference with the question of slavery, has devised, and by experiment, proved the feasibility of a scheme by which the slave-holding States who are looking to the removal of slavery from among them may effectually carry out their designs.

That there is a national feeling averse to the institution of slavery among our people, is one of the most obvious facts in the past history of the country, and in present daily occurrences among us.

I call it the national feeling for the purpose of distinguishing this feeling from that spurious anti-slavery effervescence, with which a ranting fanaticism, or all grasping political ambition has of late, so frequently agitated the country.

Apart from all this, and entirely distinct from it, except perhaps as affording the self-seeking fanatic, or the designing politician, a prejudice to play upon, there has ever been and still is, a deep-seated aversion to the system of slave labor. This feeling is older than the present government, and knows no distinction of North and South. If the sentiments of those who were the leaders of public opinion sixty years ago, are a fair criterion—or even of the public acts of this country are a fair criterion, then we are fully justified in saying that Southern men have been from the first, the leaders of public sentiment against the system of slavery—and further, that Southern men have been the originators and most efficient supporters of every measure which has gone to limit the system in its extent, or to relieve the evils of it.

Washington declared it to be a first wish with him, "to see some plan adopted by which slavery might be

abolished by law."† "I believe a time will come," said Patrick Henry, in 1773, "when the opportunity will be offered to abolish this lamentable evil—every thing that we can do, is to improve it if it happens in our day—if not, let us transmit to our descendants, with our slaves, a pity for their unhappy lot, and our abhorrence for slavery."‡ "Nobody wishes," said Mr. Jefferson of himself, in 1788, "more ardently to see an abolition, not only of the slave trade, but of the condition of slavery; and certainly nobody will be more willing to encounter every sacrifice for that object."§ "We have found that this evil," said Mr. Monroe, in the Virginia Convention, "has preyed upon the very vitals of our Union, and has been prejudicial to all States in which it has existed."|| Let these suffice for illustration. If we turn now to the public acts of the nation, all go to show the existence of the sentiment here expressed—and the fact that Southern men were here also prominent in their public actions on this subject, in conformity with their private opinions.

At the period of the Declaration of Independence, the whole thirteen were slave-holding States—and yet it is well known there was a clause in the original draft of that instrument—though struck out afterwards for reasons not involving any objections to its general sentiment—enumerating the infliction of slavery upon the colonies prominently in the list of grievances therein set forth, as justifying resistance to the mother country.

The first efficient step for the abolition of the African slave trade, and consequently the first limit put to the extension of slavery, was by an act of the American Congress, originated

† See Letter to J. F. Mercer.

‡ Letter to R. Pleasants, Jan. 18, 1773.

§ Letter to Dr. Warville, 1788, and to E. Cole, 1814.

|| Speech in the Virginia Convention.

and carried through by American slave-holders. For twenty years anterior to 1804, the annual motion for the abolition of the slavetrade, though urged by all the influence and eloquence of Wilberforce, of Pitt, of Fox, and of Sheridan, was uniformly voted down under the plea of "mischief to the colonies"—"of ruin to individuals," and "diminution of supplies to the nation." The American government contemporaneously with becoming a government, denounced the slave trade, and set limits to its duration. At the suggestion of Mr. Jefferson, in his eagerness to anticipate the period fixed by the Constitution in 1807, the act was passed providing for the annihilation of the traffic at the very earliest moment fixed by the Constitution.

Mr. Randolph, in 1816, made the first motion to abolish the slave trade in the District of Columbia. It was on motion of a member from Virginia, in 1819, that the resolution was adopted by Congress, the carrying out of which, the subsequent year, led to the memorable declaration, in advance of all other nations, that by our law, the slave trade is piracy, to be punished with death.

These are but few specimens of facts which might be cited indefinitely, going to show a strong current of national feeling on this subject from the earliest period.

It is true that the rights of the slave-holder were secured under the Constitution—and that moreover from the very first there has existed a strong disposition to protect the rights thus guarantied by legislation, in all the States in which slavery still exists. It is further true, that in proportion as a disposition has manifested itself to encroach upon these rights by the Northern portion of the confederacy, a corresponding determination has been manifested by the Southern people, and with great unanimity, to re-

sist these encroachments. This, however, is a fact, not at all adverse to the existence of such a national feeling as I have described, even in the Southern country. The feeling of hostility to the system of slavery, as at war with the highest prosperity of the country, is by no means inconsistent with a feeling of resistance to impertinence and encroachment under the guise of humanity. Nor is the fact that active measures have not been taken for the removal of this evil by legislation in the slave-holding States, contradictory to the assertion of an anti-slavery feeling in those States—however much some have ranted of the insincerity of such a position. The legislation of the South on this subject, is governed by the same great principle which governed the founders of the government in forming the Constitution—a principle commending itself to the sound common sense of mankind—that an evil is rather to be borne with, than removed by means inconsistent with the great interest of the people and militating against the great principles of government. The cases of those who lament slavery as an evil, and yet oppose legislation for its extinction, is but another of the thousand cases in which even great evils must be endured, rather than endanger great principles in the effort to remove them. The rats that infest the farmer's barn, are often an evil too great for human patience, yet it is not the part of wisdom to apply the torch to the pile, in order to expel the vermin that infest it.

It is not my province here to discuss the reasons why such measures for the extinction of slavery have not been taken—I simply allude to the fact, as one well known—and as accounting satisfactorily for the apparent inconsistency of the state of legislation in the Southern States, with such a sentiment hostile to slavery as I have ascribed to them.

While this sentiment of hostility to the permanence of slavery has generally prevailed, there has prevailed co-extensively with it, a deep conviction of the incompatibility of the two races with each other as tenants in common of the same country, and citizens in common under the same laws. I stop not now to consider the ground of this general conviction—or to inquire whether it be philosophical or unphilosophical—whether it is, as some Northern philosophers have affirmed, a prejudice only “skin deep”—or whether it be deep in the mysteries of human nature. It exists—has always existed, and some very sensible people imagine it ever will exist—all the philosophy of metaphysicians to the contrary notwithstanding.

Such I believe to be a fair analysis of the state of feeling in reference to the African race throughout the country—North and South. This strong current of sentiment could hardly be expected to exist, without being frequently played upon by various passions and interests of men. The inference naturally drawn from such a state of public feeling would be, the temporary character of the institution—which in turn would suggest various schemes for its extinction. And just as naturally as the demagogue plays upon the sentiment of universal political equality, it must be expected that this prevailing feeling will be played upon as the means of promoting the design of various social and political schemers. Accordingly the self-seeking fanatic appealing to this feeling of the people, has been able to agitate the nation with modern Abolitionism. The religious Radical plays upon it, and agitates the church of God—the scheming politician has played upon it, to secure to himself the balance of power between the two great contending parties. And now the leaders of one great section of the confederacy seem disposed to make capital out of it, in their schemes for

gaining power beyond that which the Constitution fairly allows them.

While this and other directions have been given to this feeling—all ending in evil—or all certain to yet end in evil—the wise benevolence of the last age sought to direct it into a channel which should give it efficiency and make it a blessing to both races. Looking at the subject sincerely with a view to remedy the evils under which the country was suffering—and at the same time elevate the African race from its degradation—they sought to bring this national sentiment to bear in the great measure of separating the races—and to affect this, proposed the experiment of colonizing, with their own consent, the free people of color on the coast of Africa.

If I have given a correct analysis of the feeling, you see at once the truth of my first proposition—that Colonization is the exact exponent of American feeling in reference to the African race. The great purpose of this organization was two fold—first to furnish a system of action to the benevolence of the country, in establishing a colony by which the feasibility of separating the races should be practically demonstrated, and secondly, to keep open a channel through which the national feeling of the country in reference to the African race should find expression, and in turn, through which that feeling might be reached by reason and intelligence, and thereby be enlightened as to its best modes of operation. The thing to be done, was not to attack slavery, but to elevate the free—not to raise funds to pay agitators, but to purchase a home for the free, and send them to it. Not to call upon the States to legislate, but to show how they might remove the evil, when they choose to undertake it. There was one great idea kept ever before them, the planting of a colony. And never has the great idea been kept more faithfully.

prominent, though a thousand influences have continually tempted to straying away after collateral objects. And in no scheme of modern benevolence have we a more striking illustration of the truth of the harmony of every true good, with every other good. A golden chain binds them. And one great good steadily pursued, incidentally must effect other great good. Like the great system of salvation in the gospel, in whose spirit this work has been prosecuted, one is often at a loss to measure and enumerate the train of incidental benefits growing up in its path.

While this scheme of a colony has been pursued with a singleness of purpose unparalleled, and succeeded as a cause only can succeed, thus pursued—yet throwing all its success as to the main purpose out of view—the other benefits to the world which have grown out of this enterprise, are among the most remarkable results of modern benevolence. The colony has been planted, and in less than thirty years has become a nation, and has been received among the civilized nations of the earth. The experiment, made in the midst of adverse influences—abuse and denunciations from one quarter, suspicion and distrust from the other—unprotected by government at home, and imposed upon by governments abroad—has yet been made, and gloriously succeeded. Its friends no longer need found their defence of it in hypothesis and analogy—they need only proclaim the facts.

And in effecting the main work, the incidental good accomplished is wonderful. 1. It has permanently fixed the influences of christianity upon a continent upon which all other efforts have failed. 2. It has practically done more to abolish the slave trade than the combined fleets of christendom have been able to effect, though spending more money

annually, to effect it, than Liberia has cost from its origin. 3. While it has never looked beyond the free people of color, who with their own consent, might be colonized, it numbers among the beneficiaries of its charity, some 6,000 slaves who have been emancipated, in most cases, directly or indirectly through its influence. 4. It has kept in healthful action, the national feeling on the subject of the African race—standing proudly conservative, amid the storms of opposition from either extreme, and exists now, to encourage and to reanimate the friends of the African, by its triumph over all obstacles.

This scheme is then, obviously, what I have declared it to be, the true exponent of the American national feeling on this subject of the African race. And our cause has triumphed over an amount of opposition that would have prostrated it long ago, had it not been, that it is so founded in the hearts of the American people.

Let me now call your attention to the other topic to which I proposed to direct my remarks this evening—the relation of African Colonization to the probable future action of the slave-holding States on the subject of slavery. In this view, I think we shall find, that as this plan is the true expression of American feeling, so it holds forth the only feasible mode of American action.

That we may reasonably anticipate some action at no distant day, by several of the slave-holding States, with a view to the limitation of slavery, is a proposition which few will dispute, after a full and fair analysis of the condition of the system of slavery in those States, and of the public feeling in regard to it.

At your last annual meeting, no one present but was struck with the profound and eloquent train of reasoning by which the gentleman\* who addressed you, demonstrated the po-

\* Hon. John A. McClung, of Mason Co.

sition, that slavery in the slave-holding States was gradually, but surely approaching to extinction. That argument was founded on the general statistics of slavery. It was no part of the orator's aim to enter into details, or to assign the causes of the phenomena on which he founded his argument—he simply established the fact, that from the origin of the government, slavery had been constantly moving southward, and that too, with remarkable regularity of progression.

A more minute investigation of facts relating to our Commonwealth in particular, will tend still more fully to corroborate the general view of the subject then presented. And an inquiry into the causes which produced the results then set forth, will most clearly show, that the expectations founded on those results, must be realized; that Kentucky is rapidly preparing to take her place in the line of march, in the wake of the long list of States who have already excluded, or must soon exclude slavery from their limits. I have not time, indeed it lies not within the scope of my main purpose to enter fully into the investigation—I quote, therefore, a few items from the statistical tables by way of specimen, in support of the general argument above referred to.

The increase of slaves in Kentucky, has hardly reached 3,000 annually, for eighteen years past. The increase since 1840, has been 27,653—the increase for the year just closed, 2,921. In twenty-six counties of the State, embracing one-fourth of the slave population—some of them the largest slave-holding counties, there has been an actual decrease in the last year, of 881 slaves. In twelve other counties, the increase has been only 23. There are ten counties in the State, which contain one-third of all the slave population of Kentucky; in these ten counties, the increase of slaves for five years

past, has been 2,728—an increase of less than one per cent. per annum. Nor is this slow increase of slavery to be attributed to any stagnation, or decline of public prosperity, for in the meantime, the State has been growing in population and wealth as heretofore. During these five years, the taxable property of the Commonwealth has increased in value more than seventy-six millions of dollars. Now this decrease of slaves while the other property of the Commonwealth is increasing, must arise from one of three causes—and in either case, the inference is the same, as to the fate of slavery in Kentucky. Is it because the climate is unhealthy to the African? Then the climate is not adapted to the African constitution and of course African labor cannot continue. Is it owing to emigration? Then something is wrong in the system of labor, that causes the emigration of our people—for no finer soil, no more desirable residence can be found in the world. Or is it owing to the domestic slave trade? Then, for some reason, slave labor is less profitable here than elsewhere, and therefore must soon be given up. Not to dwell, however, on facts of this kind, which might be multiplied indefinitely, I pass on to a brief enquiry into some of the causes which have produced the state of feeling which exists in most of the Northern slave-holding States, and even in many of the South-western States in reference to slavery. Which causes most clearly indicate that slavery cannot be in those States perpetual.

I have already referred to the existence of a national sentiment adverse to perpetual slavery, as inconsistent with the highest civil, political, and economical interests of the country—as an evil at present to be borne, because as yet, no remedy for it, consistent with the rights and the safety of society, can yet be applied. The

very existence of such a sentiment, goes far to render probable the expectation of action at no distant day, with a view to its removal.

Not only, as I have just shown, are there reasons for such an expectation in regard to this Commonwealth, from her statistical history—but the same inference must be drawn from general considerations relating to ours, in common with other States of this Union. The whole tendency of the civil and political development of our country, indicates a state of things unfavorable to the much longer existence of slavery in it.

I have little sympathy, sir, with those abstractionists who profess to regard the existence of slavery in any condition of the social system, as incompatible with true love of civil liberty, and a high degree of the enjoyment of it. The history of our country is all in the teeth of this abstraction. It was the sagacious observation of Mr. Burke\* in reference to the Southern Colonies in the days of the Revolution—"slave-holders are most jealous of freedom, for with them, liberty is not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege—the haughtiness of domination is by no means inconsistent with the loftiest spirit of freedom."

I see not either the inconsistency which seems to surprise many modern theorists, of the holding of slaves in any circumstances, with the abstract declaration—"All men are, by nature, free and equal." The abstract rights of man are one thing, and the demands of self-preservation and the safety of society are another. As the profound Philosopher just quoted, well remarks: "The metaphysical rights of man, when they enter into common life, like rays of light which pierce into a denser medium, are by the laws of nature refracted from their straight line."† But

at the same time it is obvious to the reflecting, that the tendency of our system to still more democratic forms is unfavorable to that peculiar phase of the social system under which alone slavery can exist with comfort, to both servant and master. In Virginia and South Carolina alone, of all the other slave-holding States, has ever that form of social organization fully obtained. Its peculiarity is a sort of aristocratic democracy, in which wealth, rather than numbers, holds the control in government. "Representation according to taxation," is its fundamental theory—and the practical operation of the theory, is to give dignity and unbounded influence to slave-holder—making him in effect, a feudal Baron in his little circle, only with more absolute sway. Occupying such a position, service is rendered him, not under the mere pressure of physical force, but with the willing homage of feudal loyalty. He has no one to question his authority, and his vassals never learn to dream of any other law than his command—any other standard of taste and manners than his conduct—any other standard of right and wrong than his opinions.

But this order of things is fast passing away—the old Virginia gentleman has become almost a historic character. Power is passing over from *wealth* to *numbers*, and just as that change goes onward, it lets down the master from his high position in the eye of his vassals, and introduces force instead of loyalty as the motive of obedience. Then the law and discipline of slavery necessarily relaxes—for the obedience of mere force, is too ungrateful to be exacted to the utmost—and just as the law and discipline of slavery relaxes, the system itself becomes uncomfortable and burdensome. Slavery as seen here, or in West Virginia, is indeed spoken of

\* Burke's Speech, 22d March, 1775.

† Burke's French Revolution, p. 91,

as the "*milder form*" of the system, yet it is very questionable whether it is not, all things considered, its very worst phase. A phase of it, in which masters no longer assert their rights or discharge their duties. The only law for the system, in the very nature of the case, is absolute authority and absolute obedience. When the habits and feelings and customs of society sustain the master in the exercise of the one, and impress the slave with the necessity of the other, then slavery may exist compatible with the peace and comfort of all concerned. With no sources of constant irritation, the master will be the more disposed to kindness, and the bondage will be less felt in the slave. But so soon as that authority is restrained in the least, either by interference of law, or by scruples of conscience, or by the influence of social opinion, the system becomes at once burdensome and hateful. The reins of authority held with a faltering hand, encourages the governed to become refractory. Then bribery is the resort. But obedience purchased by bribes, soon becomes unreasonably exacting. And then commences the contest to be waged through life—who is to be master—the owner or the slave. In this state of affairs, labor soon becomes unprofitable, and the half free indolent negro has worked out more perfectly than any other character of laborer, the problem, of the least possible amount of work for the greatest possible amount of pay. Now the whole tendency of political opinions, is to the destruction of that form of civil society, in which alone slavery can exist to advantage. The tendency is ever to the government of numbers, rather than of wealth. To divest the tax-paying slave-holder of the dignity and influence which he has heretofore occupied—to bring as equals with him into the government, the laborers around him, who dispute

his opinions, rather than learn them, and thereby destroy the charm which has heretofore held his vassals in willing obedience. The obvious effect of all this, is to weaken his authority on the one hand, and generate impertinence and insubordination on the other. Aside then, from considerations which might be urged from the inability of slave labor to compete with free, from the climate and the soil, here are influences at work which every one can see and understand, to account for the stand-still, to which slavery has been brought in some States, and its decline in others. And more than all this, who does not see the tendency of a government of numbers to the overthrow of this species of property, when it is known, that in this government, four out of every five of the sovereigns, have no interest in this species of property whatever; that the thing exists by mere sufferance of those who have no interest in it. Nor can any reasonable man expect that sufferance to be prolonged forever in an age when the power of the masses, heretofore only a theory, is becoming every year more and more a practical and operating fact.

These influences alone, independent of other considerations, must lead ultimately to a revolution in the system of labor. In this view, the war against slavery began long ago in the slave States. Every extension of the right of suffrage is a blow to slavery; for it is taking from the property power to protect itself. Every organic change which brings the officers of the State more directly to the vote of the people, is a blow at the system, for it adds to the number of causes which make the masses feel their power. Every shortening of the tenure of office is a blow at the system, for it adds to the number of occasions that remind the people of their power, and that expose the slave to influences which will make him more

discontented and therefore more refractory—and therefore more worthless.

The question therefore of the continuance or the extension of slavery is under the control of causes, which no temporary excitements, no party spirit, no legislation can reach. They are causes no more to be checked in their operation by the wishes of interest, or the schemes of political sagacity, than the great causes which produce the phenomena of nature. They move onward with the certainty of time, and irresistible as destiny.

When Blaise Pashal was told of the decree of Rome, condemning the theory of Copernicus, of the revolution of the earth on its axis, he simply answered—but what if the world were to go round still, in spite of the decree! This revolution will go in defiance of all the excitement of parties, and all the legislation of States.

It is the operation of such causes as these, which not only brings slavery to a stand in our State, but which produces that increase of free colored population, which in many of the more Northern slave-holding States has become so alarming. Masters, owing to the change of public sentiment, no longer maintain their rights, nor discharge their duties. As a consequence, the relation becomes to one, and another, for various reasons, exceedingly irksome—and from various motives, one and another is disposed to emancipate. One because he can no longer govern in peace and safety—another, because his conscience becomes scrupulous at the exaction of a forced obedience—a third, because of the evil influence which the system is exerting over his own temper and character, and a fourth because he is unwilling longer to expose his children to the temptations which slavery as a part of the domestic economy—and especially a semi-slavery—must necessarily expose them to. So in spite of legal

enactments, one after another turns his slaves loose to become an annoyance to his neighboring slave-holders, and increase their troubles and disgust with the system. Here we have the explanation of the fact, that in Virginia alone, there are now 60,000 free negroes—and increasing at a rate which doubles their number every 12 years. The evil is just beginning to be felt in Kentucky—which, unless some change takes place, will become most alarming to our children in the next generation.

If we turn now to the actual state of public sentiment in our own Commonwealth, we shall find it in accordance with what would be expected from the foregoing reasoning and statistics—and therein, we have a strong confirmation of the opinion, that action will be had at no distant day in Kentucky, which will call into requisition the plan of African Colonization, in aid of the efforts of the State.

At first sight it is true, an analysis of the present state of public sentiment on this subject would seem a hopeless task. Perhaps at no recent period of our history has there appeared on the surface so confused and discordant appearances. The agitation of the great question of power between the North and the South, combined with the agitation of questions of domestic policy, naturally incident to a prospective remodeling of the organic law of the State, must of course disturb the ordinary current of opinion on this subject. And in addition to these causes, there is furthermore an evident effort on the part of mere politicians to play upon the prejudices connected with this subject, and create an apparent public opinion which shall hold in check the evident aversion of our people to the perpetuity of slavery in Kentucky; while many again, from mere personal motives, are disposed to be violent in their denunciations of the opinion that slavery

here is not perpetual, and to proscribe those who entertain it. But notwithstanding all this, there is plainly discoverable below the surface, subject thus to temporary agitations, a strong current of feeling pursuing the same general direction, and bearing every thing on with it to the one great result, a separation of the black from the white race. The storms of party, and the excitements of passion and self interest, may indeed seem often to have turned the very current itself in a contrary direction, but they affect only the surface. The winds sometimes sweep up the Mississippi, with such violence as to carry back in spite of the current, objects floating on its surface, yet are as transient as they are violent, and are scarcely to be reckoned in the problem of the speed of the mighty current toward the Gulf whither it is moving. In reference to the whole subject, these may be regarded as the main points of general agreement:

1. As to the great questions of power between the North and the South there is nearly entire unanimity. The demand of the North for the exclusion of slavery from the territories, though under the guise of zeal for the limitation of slavery, is conceived to have little to do with the moral principle of slavery. It is regarded as a mere grasping at power, by the North, to which the terms of the National Constitution give no title. Being thus considered as a contest for *power*, the demand of the North finds little sympathy among even the most ardent friends of the limitation of slavery in Kentucky.

2. On the other hand, there is a very generally prevailing opinion, that slavery as it now exists in Kentucky, is not consistent with the highest civil and economical interests of the State. There is an almost universal disposition to trace the inferiority of the Commonwealth in

wealth and political power, as compared with some of the neighboring Commonwealths, to the existence of slavery among us. And hence, very naturally, there is a feeling of dissatisfaction with the present state of things, and a desire for some change.

3. While some of the ablest men in the Commonwealth are so ardent in their desires for the extinction of slavery, as to be willing to risk a provision for the gradual emancipation of all children of slaves born hereafter, without any provision for their removal, yet the almost universal feeling of the people is against such emancipation, without removal. The exchange of slaves for a free colored population is deemed a change for the worse to both races.

Both as to the mode of action, and the time for action, there is greater diversity of sentiment. Yet any mode of action which can be shown to be feasible, and which will produce no violent shock to the wealth and economical interests of the State, will receive general support. As to the time for action, there seems to be an indisposition to entangle this question with other questions of reform of the organic law. Perhaps, however, it would meet the views of all parties, if this question could be brought before the people, with the new Constitution, yet apart from it, as an independent question, after the manner in which the question of negro suffrage was submitted, with their new Constitution, to the people of New York. However this may be, it is evident that slavery cannot be a permanent thing in Kentucky. The tendency to pure democracy of numbers, is against it. The statistics of wealth and population are against it. The intelligent sentiment of the people is against it. Sooner or later, therefore, the question as to the mode of bringing it to an end must be considered.

Now the scheme of Colonization

is probably the only means of meeting the question when it shall occur. This scheme does fully meet it in all its aspects—it satisfies the general demand of public opinion for a separation of the races, while public opinion in favor of a gradual *post nati* scheme of emancipation on the other hand, brings the work of removal within the abilities of colonization. True to its principles, as set forth in the second article of its constitution, this Society has nothing to do with slaves as such. It deals only with the free. Yet while its primary object is the removal of the free people of color, it incidentally furnishes the very instrumentality requisite to carry out the wishes of public sentiment here as to slavery.

I most earnestly invite attention to the scheme of this Society, in this point of view. I am satisfied that a full consideration of the subject will produce the conviction, that here is a means adequate to the removal of the slaves of Kentucky, whenever the people demand it. And the great law of progression demonstrated to this Society a year since, renders the whole thing feasible as a practical operation. If we were compelled to face at once the mass of three millions, it might appal us, but it is not so. The action of the country must not only be gradual in each State, as by some *post nati law*, requiring the transportation only of the annual increase, but in reference to the States, it must also be gradual—one following the other at greater or less intervals, as the pressure of circumstances and the growing evils of the system in each State shall urge it onward. It is therefore entirely a reasonable calculation to confine the question of Colonization to the black population of Kentucky. Can it be done? I ask particular attention to this proposition, because I fear even ardent Colonizationists have been too much

disposed to put by the question, as one too visionary to merit serious consideration. Why such an impression should have become so general, I am at a loss to conceive, unless it be from the grandeur and magnitude of the whole scheme for which this Society has been organized, and the infinite consequences which must flow from it, even if no farther successful. In this view, there is in its primary work of colonizing something visionary in the whole project—just so was the mighty conception of Columbus of a new continent visionary, and yet that continent has become the theatre of the grandest events in history—just so, the conception of the steamboat by Fulton, was once visionary, though now practical as the driving of a dray horse, and doing the labor of millions of men—just so, the Telegraph was once visionary, and very shrewd men would have suspected Morse of hallucination, while working in the parlor over his mouldings of lead and his old clock, and his bands of carpet binding, and yet it is now one of the most practical of all the inventions of men. So is this scheme visionary—visionary for the same reason, that great minds ever seem to smaller minds visionary; because the ordinary beat and movement of the former, is oft more powerful than the highest strain of excited energy in the latter. Visionary for the same reason, that the great scheme of men's salvation has ever appeared wild and visionary to the perceptions of a cold and selfish philosophy. For no other reason can we conceive how it appears so, and yet its proffer of the solution of the great problem of the age is treated as a dream by a large portion of even the reflecting men of the country. It seems one of the peculiar weaknesses of the human mind as developed in its history—that at certain periods, certain opin-

ions, however unfounded, should be *contagious*—like those great physical epidemics which, taking their rise in some unknown corner, make the circuit of the globe and sweep every tribe of the human family. So once the opinion of many gods—which it required the direct influences of the Almighty through a long series of ages to restrain from universal possession of the human race—so once the opinion of witchcraft—of the right of men to bind the conscience. So in every branch of physical philosophy; the opinion rose, no one knows how—passed unchallenged—was received into universal favor—reigned supreme—till some accident opened the eyes of some inquirer, to the truth lying obvious to the meanest capacity.

On a much similar ground, would I account for the singular prevalence of the idea of the removal of the African race from among us as *visionary*. It is time for the friends of that view to divest themselves fully of this lingering delusion, and looking to the facts in the history of their own effort, and in the daily occurrences of the world, set their own minds right, and endeavor to set the public right on this great subject. I have heard it said, sir, that, at the first project of the railroad scheme, some men high in the departments of science, thought they saw obstacles in the way of the practical application of the scheme, which rendered it visionary in the extreme for all practical ends. It might be they said, that with no weight to carry, the car could perhaps attain some speed—but how could the projector expect a smooth wheel on a smooth rail to have friction enough to move a great weight; the wheel will evidently turn but not move forward. And some learned philosopher after intense study, had actually devised a scheme to obviate the want of friction,

and enable the car to move with a load. He proposed a wheel with cogs to run on an iron rail with cogs. Unfortunately however for his well intended kindness—by the time he had got ready to remove the mountain, there was no mountain to move. Some practical engineer who knew nothing about the laws of friction, had loaded a car with an immense weight—put to the steam—and away it went! Give him only the steam—and let the friction take care of itself.

I am fully satisfied that the obstacles in the way of Colonization as a means of removing slavery, are of a similar character. The figures and facts in its history at once dissipate them. The great work has been *done*. A colony has been planted—it has lived—flourished—has become a nation. Now what is there to be done in the gradual removal of the African race from Kentucky, in principle, different from what has been done? To what particular feature of the undertaking shall we point as visionary? Is it the vast number? 200,000? Why cannot the same scheme which has transported 6,000, transport 600,000? Let us look a little more narrowly into the subject. For the sake of illustration, let us suppose that the people of Kentucky, by solemn vote two years hence, resolve that all children born of slave mothers, after a fixed date, shall be free on arriving—females, at the age of 18, and males, at the age of 25, respectively, and forbidding further importation of slaves (and that the Legislature previous to the coming of the period when any shall become free,) shall make such provision for paying the expenses of their transportation to Africa, or some other point, as in their wisdom it shall then seem best. This provision to be made by the hire of servants so becoming free, for the necessary length of time to raise the funds.

How many under the operation of

such a rule would it be necessary to colonize annually, in order to effect, in time, the complete separation of the races? Obviously only a number equal to the annual increase of slaves in Kentucky; and that number selected from those aged 18 and 25, would of course soon cause the diminution, rather than the increase of negroes amongst us. In 20 years from the commencement of such an operation, slavery would exist in Kentucky, as it does now in Delaware. In 40 years its existence would be only nominal, and Kentucky would have commenced, as a free State, that progress to wealth and political power to which her natural resources and the energy of her people entitle her.

Is, then, the idea of removing 3,000 negroes annually from Kentucky, by aid of their own labor for raising funds, visionary? The cost of removal and support for six months in Africa, is \$50. Is the scheme visionary, even though the funds be provided independent of the labor of the slave? Make the largest estimate, and what is the amount? Suppose we take the number annually arriving at the ages of 18 and 25, at 4,000. Then the annual expenditure would be \$200,000—for, say, the first five years—after that continually and rapidly diminishing. Is then \$200,000 an alarming sum to be raised from the 273,000,000 of property in Kentucky?

All this however aside, it is a plain proposition that any can comprehend, that the labor of such freed men, for two years at farthest, would pay the cost of colonization, and the needful support in the colony for six months. Men can be found, I doubt not, who will take the contract for colonizing every African of that age in Kentucky, for two years services.

The difficulty cannot then be in respect to the cost and expense. Where then? A place to colonize? The place has been procured—if not large

enough, \$20,000 will purchase territory enough to locate the whole 200,000 of Africans now in Kentucky. There would be no difficulty, I presume, in procuring territory independent of Liberia, over which the protection of government would be extended, till the new colony could protect itself.

But there is something visionary to a far inland people, in the idea of carrying such numbers across the Atlantic. They forget the 500,000 that cross that ocean every year—yea, 100,000 are said to be now annually stolen from Africa and brought to this continent. Benevolence and law can surely devise means to do one-twenty-fifth part of the work that piracy does. If the whole African population of the United States, were, within ten years, to cross the Atlantic, it would be no greater wonder than that the same number of paupers from Europe will in the same time have crossed the ocean. Is the removal of one African from Kentucky to Liberia, then, more difficult to accomplish, than the removal of one white man from the crowded pauperism of Europe to America? Yet many seem to conceive of a voyage to Africa as men in the age of Columbus would conceive of a voyage to America.

The voyage to California is a far greater enterprise—yet more than are slaves in Kentucky, will in ten years have gone to California.

Or is the visionary point in this scheme, the idea of leaving free blacks on that or any other coast to take care of themselves? It is only doing what 6,000 of them are doing already to the admiration of the civilized world. It is no longer a *terra incognita*, concerning the capacities of which for the support of men we are left to vague conjecture. It has been explored—its properties are known—its climate has been proved

to be adapted to the African—there has been among the colonists no more sickness than in new settlements in our own country—by unanimous testimony, it is fertile, and yields large products to the labor of man.

Or is it visionary to expect such a race of people even to be capable of governing and providing for themselves? Such an idea is natural, where men see the race only in the state of bondage and dependence. None can now say so who will take the pains to investigate the state of things in Liberia. Read the message of its President—observe the acts of its legislature—observe its commerce and enterprise, and all such impressions will vanish. Nor will colonization under State action, prove less favorable. It is a beautiful ordinance that the same thing that makes slavery intolerable, prepares the slaves for freedom.

I confess myself unable to discover the marks of wildness and extravagance in the scheme of applying the system of colonization to the probable future action of this Commonwealth, or any other Commonwealth, for the removal of slavery.

It reduces itself to the simple proposition, of removing 2,000 to 4,000 freed slaves annually from Kentucky to Africa—the means of their transportation being provided in their own labor. It involves no danger or hardship to them, over what 300,000 undergo every year. It involves no expectation of the negro, beyond what experiment has shown to be just. It involves, in short, nothing else than the application to a great social problem, the plainest and most practical common sense truth and action.

Let it be shown, if it can, wherein it is visionary. The problem of African Colonization has been before the world for thirty years; has been subjected to trial; it has done what it proposed to do. And to apply its

principle to the removal of slavery from State by State, as facts or circumstances compel the system of slavery to give way, is not a task of half the difficulty which has attended the working out of the great principle. It is but taking the model telegraph, which at first transmitted intelligence from one hall of the national capital to the other; and extending its principle, to sending its messages around the vast boundary of the country which gave it birth.

Sir, I conceive that the American Colonization Society has already worked out the great problem of the age, next to the problem of the American government. It is a work, in its glorious result, worthy of the great men who planned it. And I gravely doubt whether, if their measures are fully carried out, and this proves to be the solution of the great problem of slavery in America—future ages will not doubt whether their fame as the founders and guardians of the American government will not be equaled by their fame, as the originators of this mighty plan of benevolence. When we reflect on the probable influence of this work on the destiny of two races—on its connection with the future prosperity of this country—on the effect of its labors in the moral and political renovation of the millions of that mighty continent—and of the final extinction of that traffic which has for centuries blackened the commercial history of Christendom with a stain more *damning* than ever before disgraced the annals of man—we will not think it extravagant to doubt, whether their first or last work, most challenges the applause of mankind.

When the artist was selecting from among the illustrious acts of one of the greatest British statesmen of the last age, a subject for his chisel, which should adorn his tomb, and attest his right to sleep among the mighty dead;

he chose the victory of his Eloquence over British Avarice, in crushing the slave trade, as the crowning glory of his life. The monument as it now adorns his tomb, is worthy of the great idea. The dying statesman is recumbent on his couch, the head falling back, and showing full that noble face, from which the light of genius and wit and eloquence is fast fading forever. At his feet rises the figure of a poor African on his knees—the broken manacles yet pendent from the hands, which are raised, with streaming eyes to heaven, imploring blessings on his dying benefactor. The universal voice of christendom has applauded the artist's choice.

Sir, it is perhaps a visionary fancy, but so I think it may yet be, with the names of some of the great American statesmen who have been the projectors of this system of benevolence. The time may yet come, when their

reputation will rest, not alone on their work as authors of the American Constitution; for their memory will be held blessed, not only by the millions of the American Union, but among the millions of two continents, who shall unite with equal zeal, to do them honor.

I question whether, in future time, the fame of that man whom Kentucky delights to honor, as one who has stood forth for near half a century, the idol of our Commonwealth and the admiration of the Union—shall not rest somewhat on his relation to this cause, as well as on his relation to the great public acts of his country. And in time to come, among the inscriptions which shall honor his monument, there shall not be wanting one to hold him in remembrance, as the firm, enlightened, long-tried friend of African Colonization.

[From the Journal of Commerce.]

### *The Slavery Question.*

WE copy with great pleasure the following remarks from the New York Observer of the present week. The spirit of them is so different from that of most articles which we meet with in northern papers of late, that, coming from a widely circulated and influential religious journal, and from an editor (Sidney E. Morse, Esq.) who with a christian heart has studied the subject of slavery in all its bearings more thoroughly than almost any other person within our knowledge, and who is accustomed to form his judgment deliberately, carefully, candidly, and in view of all the considerations pertaining to the case,—that we cannot but regard them as of real interest and importance. In the view we have taken of the subject in its present bearings and relations, as affecting not only the welfare

of master and slave, and the prosperity of the Union, but even its existence, we have found ourselves almost alone; and if we cannot add, with old Elijah, "they seek my life," we can at least say that by our course in this matter we have brought upon ourselves, from certain quarters, no small measure of abuse. But when did ever a man oppose the current of public opinion around him, on a question where it was active and strong, without finding his integrity assailed and his motives impeached? It is a matter of course. Although it is always more pleasant to float with the current than to struggle against it, yet a conscientious man, who acts upon conviction, after using his best endeavors to understand a subject and his own duty, cannot be swerved from his course by any such considerations.

To us the case is a plain one; and has become more so by the lapse of time. When the discussion began, it was not quite certain that the people of California and New Mexico, on being admitted into the Union as States, would repudiate slavery. But in regard to California, there is not now the slightest peradventure; nor scarcely any in regard to New Mexico. Under such circumstances we say, that to force the Wilmot Proviso through Congress, against the unanimous voice of the slave-holding States, if not against the spirit of the Constitution itself, would be a wanton trifling with the feelings of our brethren of those States, and with the harmony of the Union, and therefore with the dearest interests of the country, of freedom, and of man. Let the Proviso alone, and all will be well. The harmony of the Union will be preserved—the shame and infamy of an open rupture will be avoided—while yet the *object* of the Proviso in regard to slavery in the new Territories, will be fully accomplished. It will not be accomplished *by* the Proviso, but without it, and in spite of it. There is nothing for us to do on the subject, except to empower the people of the new Territories to act for themselves—to form constitutions preparatory to their admission into the Union as States. This is provided for by Mr. Douglass' bill now before the Senate, which we sincerely hope will be adopted at the present session:

"We devote a large space in our columns this week to the addresses of the Southern Convention on the slavery question. The subject has now become deeply interesting and, in the view of some, threatens the stability of our happy Union. It is time, therefore, that all who love their country should reflect seriously and prayerfully upon it, and speak and act as becomes Christian patriots. Our own views on the general sub-

ject have been frequently given; but we regard this as a proper moment for referring again to those considerations which should induce the North to avoid all action and language in reference to slavery, which will unnecessarily irritate the South. Among these considerations are the following:

"1. *Our Southern brethren are not responsible for the origin of the evil.*

"Slavery was forced upon the American people by Britain, to gratify her vile lust of gold, in opposition to the entreaties and remonstrances of the wise and good in every part of the land, and in every period of its colonial history.

"2. *It is not easy now to get rid of the evil, suddenly.*

"Slavery is the fundamental law upon which all the political institutions of the South have been based from the beginning. That law was established by Britain at the very commencement of the political existence of those communities. It gave to the white man despotic power over the negro. It constituted the whites a privileged class—the aristocracy of the land. The abolition of slavery in the South, would be, in other words, a voluntary surrender by this aristocracy, of the power and privileges which they hold under the ancient law of their country. Ought we to be greatly surprised, if this surrender should not be made suddenly, even though demanded by public sentiment in the North, and in every other civilized country on the globe? Where, in history, is there an example of the surrender by an aristocracy of their ancient powers and privileges, however exorbitant and oppressive those powers, and however earnest the demand for their surrender, when that demand was not backed by a competent physical force. No one wishes to see slavery abolished in the South by physical force, and without physical force, it would be a moral

miracle if it were abolished suddenly. We must not be too impatient.

"3. *Our Southern brethren have done more to get rid of the evil than could have been reasonably anticipated.*

"When we reflect upon the demoralizing character of slavery, and the obstructions it opposes to all improvement, physical, intellectual and moral, we are prone to think at the North, that there can be nothing good in a community where such an institution exists. The census of 1840, however, shows that there are, as the result of voluntary emancipation, in little Delaware, 14,000 free blacks, or more than five-sixths of the whole negro population of that State; in Maryland, 62,000 free blacks, or nearly one-half of the negro population of that State; in Virginia, 50,000 free blacks; in Louisiana, 25,000; and in all the slaveholding States, 215,000 free blacks, whose value as slaves, at the moderate estimate of \$500 each, would be more than \$100,000,000!—more than the boasted £20,000,000 which Britain paid for the emancipation of her West India negroes!—more than the aggregate of the State debts of the whole slaveholding section of the Union! This vast sum is the voluntary sacrifice made by Southern slaveholders on the altar of anti-slavery feeling and principle! In making it, thousands of noble-minded men have reduced themselves from affluence to poverty. One would think that such men could be safely trusted with the management of the anti-slavery cause in their own States.

"4. *Christ and his apostles did not denounce or irritate the Slaveholder.*

"They lived and preached in countries where the law gave man despotic power over his fellows, but they did not denounce the law or the men who held power under it. They did not require the despot to abdicate, or the slaveholder to emancipate his

slaves, without regard to consequences. Paul did not aid and abet Onesimus in his escape from his master; nor did he threaten to cut his connection with the master, if he continued to employ the labor of the slave. He used no harsh epithets. He called Philemon, slaveholder as he was, his 'dearly beloved fellow-laborer' in the Gospel, and thanked God for his 'love and faith,' and all his noble Christian graces. He sent back the penitent runaway slave to his master with a courteous, conciliatory and affectionate letter, calculated to soften the feelings, and render all the future intercourse of the parties pleasant and profitable.

"5. *The Bible method of dealing with slavery and slaveholders is the best method.*

"The Bible is the source of all the rational liberty we enjoy. Wherever its principles are heartily embraced, slavery, or at least the evil of slavery, is sure to die. But how does it effect this? By denouncing the law, and stigmatising all who hold power under it? No. It does not seek to change the law as the first and great thing. It seeks first to change the heart of the master. It goes to him, and in the accents of christian love and kindness tells him 'that his slave is his brother; made in the image of God his father; an object of his Saviour's most tender love; endowed like himself with an immortal soul; possessed of powers which will expand forever; capable of being fitted here, in this momentary life, to enjoy ineffable glory with God, in heaven, through endless ages; and that such a being should be treated with all the consideration due to his near relationship, his vast capacities and his lofty destiny.' It addresses not the fears, not the pride of the master, but the noblest feelings of his nature; and when it has thus gained the master, it trusts to him in due time to change

the law, and until the law is changed, to deprive it of its power to harm. This is the Bible way of dealing with slavery, and it is the true way.

"The policy of the North is a 'masterly inactivity,' a 'Let-alone,' 'Do-nothing' policy."

### To our Readers.

It is due to our readers to say, that the **EDITOR** having been absent, attending to important business of the Society, has been unable to give to the present and the last two numbers of the Repository, that attention which its necessities demand.

That the present and last numbers come to hand later in the month than usual, is owing to the embarrassments caused by the burning of the office of our Printer. We hope that soon all will be in order again.

### Receipts of the American Colonization Society;

From the 20th of March, to the 20th of April, 1849.

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By Luther Wheatley, Esq:  
*Brookfield*—Capt. A. Edson, Simon Cotter, Esq., Capt. G. S. Allen, each 50 cents, Homer Hatch, Esq., 25 cts., J. W. Hopkins, \$1, Colonel Nathan Wheatley, 50 cents, Robert C. Fay, 25 cents, David Bigelow, Andrew Wheatley, each 50 cents, Dea. S. Griswold, 25 cents, Mrs. Maria Merrill, 11 cts., Luther Wheatley, 50 cts. 5 36

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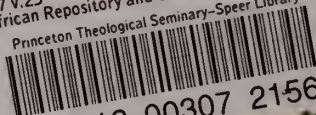


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